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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC  
IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

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A NARRATIVE with such possibilities for instruction as that of the Sacrifice of Isaac was not to be neglected by the Church. Here was an instance of faith rewarded, a proof that souls trusting in divine mercy should have renewed and continued life, and an assurance that the course of safety lay in placing themselves in the hands of God. *Ei enim qui fideliter sacrificat dies lucet, nox nulla est.*<sup>1</sup> The transcendent importance of the story, however, rested in the fact that as set forth in the twenty-second chapter of Genesis it presented, to the early churchman's symbol-seeking mind, an almost exact parallel to the passion of Christ. *Isaac ergo Christi passuri est typus.*<sup>2</sup>

The Church Fathers, Irenaeus,<sup>3</sup> Tertullian,<sup>4</sup> Ephraim,<sup>5</sup> Isidore of Seville,<sup>6</sup> and others too numerous to cite, occupied themselves with studying the parallel and enlarging upon it. Like Christ Isaac was a beloved only son offered as a consummate yet willing sacrifice by his father. The place of sacrifice in both instances was upon a hill. *Signa Isaac sibi vexit, Christus sibi patibulum crucis portavit.*<sup>7</sup> The thorns of the bush in which the ram was caught represented the thorns of Christ. No smallest detail that might contribute to the parallel escaped the eager interpreter. The ram in the bush was Christ on the Cross, Isaac was Christ in the Eucharist.

The most potent acknowledgment of similarity between the sacrifices was the introduction of the Sacrifice of Isaac into the Mass, where there is repeated mention of it. When the priest extends his hands over the host he prays: *Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere, sicuti accepta*

<sup>1</sup> Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel* I, cap. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Ambrose, *De Abraham* I, cap. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Adversus Haereses* IV, cap. V.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber adv. Judaeos*, Rome, 1737, cap. X.

<sup>5</sup> *In Genes*, Opera I, *Liber adv. Judaeos*, cap. X, p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> *Allegoriae* n. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Ambrose, *De Abraham* I, cap. VIII.

*habere dignatus es munera pueri justi Abel et sacrificium Patriarchae nostri Abrahæ.* In the sequence of Corpus Christi there is reference to the story. On Holy Saturday the third "prophecy" read between the lighting of the Paschal Candle and blessing of the Font is based on the Sacrifice of Isaac.

As is to be expected, a story regarded as of such importance by the Church had frequent representation in Early Christian art. It is depicted on Early Christian monuments of all classes; frescoes, sarcophagi, mosaics, glasses, gems, and lamps.

The purpose of this article is to list the existing representations upon these monuments, to isolate the types or schools indicated



FIGURE 1.—SACRIFICE OF ISAAC: FRESCO IN CATACOMB OF SS. PIETRO E MARCELLINO: ROME.

by the variations of the iconography and incidentally to show the bearing of the data thus gained on the question of the provenance of a little monument of prime importance in the history of Early Christian art, viz. the ivory pyx in Berlin.

The earliest artistic renderings of the scene are found among Roman catacomb frescoes, which may be regarded as reflecting the primitive or Hellenistic base upon which Early Christian representations were constructed.

#### THE CATACOMB FRESCOES

Not including fragments, examples of the scene in the catacomb frescoes fall roughly into three divisions. The first of these contains paintings showing the approach to the Sacrifice in which Abraham leads Isaac, bearing faggots, towards the altar as on a fresco of the Coemeterium Maius (No. 2); or Isaac approaches with the bundle of sticks, Abraham having preceded him to the

place of offering. An example of the latter version is found in Priscilla (No. 6).

The second or orant division of the Sacrifice frescoes includes two paintings. In one of these, in a catacomb under the Vigna Massimo (No. 10) Abraham is upon a pedestal and Isaac stands near at hand, both figures in orant attitude. They are again found as orants in a well-preserved S. Callisto fresco (No. 9); here the ram is shown and also a bundle of faggots to indicate a scene of immolation.

These types, not being illustrative of the sacrifice itself, were not perpetuated though the detail of Isaac carrying the sticks appears later as an adjunct to representations of the scene. The type that survived was a third one exemplified by a third century painting (Fig. 1) in SS. Pietro e Marcellino (No. 14).

The general features of this third division are that Abraham is shown about to sacrifice Isaac while the latter stands or kneels on the ground beside the altar. Sometimes Abraham grasps Isaac by the hair. Occasionally the ram is added to the scene and in the later paintings the Hand of God emerges from above.

This as the earliest and at the same time the commonest form of the scene in Early Christian Art, undoubtedly reflects its original visualization and may be called the Hellenistic type. The strength of tradition which it represents is attested by its occasional emergence in Byzantine iconography, but it is chiefly found, after its first appearance in the catacombs, on sarcophagi of western type of Rome, Gaul, and Spain, persisting also, as the list of monuments shows, on objects of widely diversified material and provenance.

#### THE HELLENISTIC TYPE

An examination of the story as depicted on these sarcophagi and other art objects shows but little variety in form. The Hellenistic tradition of simplicity and lack of realism holds true throughout. On the Roman sarcophagi Abraham wears either



FIGURE 2.—SACRIFICE OF ISAAC: SARCOPHAGUS IN S. AMBROGIO; MILAN.



FIGURE 3.—SACRIFICE OF ISAAC: FRESCO AT EL BAGAWAT.

tunic and *pallium* or *exomis*. Usually he is bearded. Holding the knife in his right hand, with his left he often grasps the head of Isaac who kneels on the ground or stands beside the lighted box-shaped altar with hands shackled as Christ's were in the apocryphal version of the Crucifixion.<sup>1</sup> Frequently the Hand of God is introduced, in which case Abraham turns his head towards it as on a Lateran sarcophagus from the Cemetery of Lucina (No. 59) and the ram is almost invariably present.

For the most part the Gallic sarcophagi render the scene as it appears on the Roman monuments but with a more unvarying completeness of detail. Certain differences in form of the scene, however, are apparent. On the Gallic sarcophagi, more often than on the Roman, Abraham is beardless. On the former he always wears short draperies, usually the *exomis*, except on a

<sup>1</sup> *Evang. Nicodemi*, ed. Tischendorf, p. 282.

curious sarcophagus at Mas-d'Aire (No. 45) where he and Isaac are dressed in short, belted tunics, and in the scene upon two other examples at St. Maximin (Nos. 81 and 82) where he is clad in long draperies and the general execution suggests the handiwork of some Eastern workman employed in a local atelier.

The monuments showing this type of the Sacrifice of Isaac, are of western origin with very few exceptions, and the type itself appears first in the catacombs of Rome. It may be regarded then as the western version of the Hellenistic type and as such to be distinguished from another, evidently derived from the same prototype, but differing persistently in one detail. This variant of the Hellenistic type appears, with but two exceptions (Nos. 101 and 111) solely upon sarcophagi which show strong Eastern influence in style and iconography and particularly in their preservation of the old Asiatic architectural decoration of the front (arcades, divided by columns or trees; alternating gables and arches; horizontal entablatures; mixtures of all three). These have been regarded by Wulff as exported *en bloc* from some centre of southeastern Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> In any case they are clearly distinguished by style and their peculiar iconography from the Western type of sarcophagus with uninterrupted frieze, and are in some way connected by the same characteristics with Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup>



FIGURE 4.—ALTAR FROM ALEXANDRIA.

#### THE ASIATIC-HELLENISTIC TYPE

The Abraham of this type always wears long draperies. He grasps the knife with his right hand and turns his face towards the Hand of God emerging from above which is an omnipresent detail

<sup>1</sup> *Altchristliche und Byz. Kunst*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> I am confirmed in this by C. R. Morey whose study of the Asiatic sarcophagi of columnar type in the imperial period, to be published shortly, has convinced him that the Christian columnar types are continuations of the various forms of the well-known Sidamara sarcophagi of Asia Minor.

in this form of the scene. Sometimes his left hand rests upon Isaac's head. The presence or absence of ram and tree are insignificant variations as in the Hellenistic type. The detail which differentiates the Asiatic-Hellenistic from the western Hellenistic representations is that Isaac is always on the altar instead of

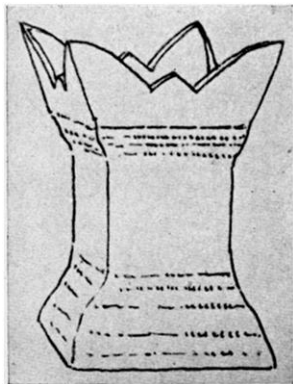


FIGURE 5.—TERRA-COTTA  
ALTAR OF IMPERIAL  
PERIOD: ALEXANDRIA.

standing or kneeling on the ground; the representation thus follows, with that preference for literal rendering usually found in Eastern iconography, the *posuit eum* (Isaac) *in altare* of Gen. XXII. In the scene of sacrifice on a sarcophagus of the "city gate" variety (Fig. 2) in S. Ambrogio at Milan (No. 105) and upon two others in Paris (No. 106) and the Grotte Vaticane (No. 108) closely resembling it, Isaac kneels upon an altar of pagan form decorated with vase and patera. Other renderings of the scene as upon a gable-and-arch sarcophagus in the Lateran (No. 109) and a seven niche example at Madrid (No. 103), show

him sitting upon the altar.<sup>1</sup>

Another transformation of the original Hellenistic type was effected in Egypt. Following the nomenclature established by E. B. Smith in his *Early Christian Iconography* I have called this the Alexandrian-Coptic type, since its examples are partly from Alexandria and belong in part to the Coptic art of Upper Egypt.

#### THE ALEXANDRIAN-COPTIC TYPE

Of Coptic frescoes at El Bagawat illustrating the story of the sacrifice only one (Fig. 3), in the Chapel decorated with Biblical Scenes (No. 112) remains complete. In it Abraham, bearded and frontal, wears flowing white draperies. He grasps the knife with his right hand and rests his left upon the head of Isaac who is clad in a white tunic and stands holding a small box. In the background is Sara with a similar box and behind Abraham ap-

<sup>1</sup> In the Sacrifice of Isaac upon an Eastern carved gem in the Bibliothèque Nationale described as of the Early Christian period by Chabouillet in his *Cat. gén. et raisonnée des Camées*, p. 191. Isaac is lying upon the altar.

pears the Hand of God. On the ground stands the altar, the form of which is important as found only in the Alexandrian-Coptic type and its derivatives. The altar is cup-shaped and denticulated on its upper edge, corresponding in form to an actual grave-altar found in Alexandria itself (Fig. 4), and almost identical with a terra-cotta altar found in a tomb of the imperial period, also at Alexandria, which is described by Thiersch ('Zwei Gräber der röm. Kaiserzeit in Gabbari Alexandria' in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alexandrie* 1900, 3, p. 21), as "*ein Altärchen . . . mit dem für den Isiskult bezugeten Zackenrand*" (Fig. 5).<sup>1</sup> The remains of a similar altar, this time placed upon a platform approached by steps, are found in the scene of sacrifice as shown on an ivory pyx of the fifth century in the Bologna Museum (No. 116), which, in its figures suggests the fresco (Fig. 6). Abraham, bearded, faces the left. He holds the knife in his right hand and rests his left on the head of Isaac, undraped here. At Abraham's right are the



FIGURE 6.—SACRIFICE OF ISAAC: PYX IN MUSEO CIVICO: BOLOGNA.

ram and an acacia (?) tree. Very like the scene on this ivory is that upon another pyx of later date in the Museo delle Terme (No. 117) though in it Isaac wears a short tunic and the altar, intended to imitate the Bologna form, takes the shape of a pillar upon stepped base and terminates in a denticulated capital. The ram which is below a tree at Abraham's right appears again, with an angel added to the scene; all these details are curiously detached like words awaiting combination into a sentence. This pyx is of rougher workmanship than the Bologna ivory and of even cruder execution is a bone fragment, from Alexandria, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 115) which shows only the figures of Abraham and Isaac. It is, however, so palpably a replica of the examples mentioned that despite incompleteness it must be admitted to this group, adding thus another indication as to the provenance of the type.

<sup>1</sup> This form of altar is also identified as Alexandrian by Rostowzew (*Röm. Mitt.* 1911, p. 66), who cites further examples (figs. 33, 37, 38).



Although these three monuments have a distinct connection with the El Bagawat fresco the discrepancies suggest that a link is missing. The link is supplied by another ivory of finer craftsmanship than those cited, viz. the Berlin pyx (No. 114) which gives the prototype from which the others were derived (Fig. 7). In the rendering of the scene of sacrifice on this pyx Abraham, bearded and in flowing draperies holds the knife in his right



FIGURE 7.—SACRIFICE OF ISAAC: PYX IN BERLIN.

hand while with his left he grasps the head of Isaac, undraped, who with hands shackled behind his back and with legs crossed, stands in frontal posture upon the steps leading up to the cup-shaped, and denticulated altar. At Abraham's right are the ram and an angel while the Hand of God emerges from above.

Thus we arrive at a sequence,—the El Bagawat fresco, the Berlin pyx, the Alexandrian fragment, the Bologna ivory, and the Terme pyx,—completely illustrating the evolution of the Alexandrian-Coptic type. In this series of monuments the iconography of the scene maintains consistently the characteristic features of the type: the bearded Abraham in flowing draperies, the frontal Isaac, and the cup-shaped and denticulated altar. Their similarity to the Coptic El Bagawat fresco shows the other four monuments to be of Egyptian origin, as, indeed, is already indicated by the Alexandrian provenance of the Berlin fragments. The type of altar used in the scene of sacrifice upon them confirms the connection with Alexandria and thereby is furnished the first evidence of definite character on which the Berlin pyx can be assigned to that city.

## THE PALESTINIAN-COPTIC TYPE

A sixth century miniature of the Etschmiadzin Evangeliary (No. 118), imitating some model like the scene on the Berlin pyx, shows a Sacrifice of Isaac of the Alexandrian Coptic type and is very Coptic in style, but certain added details stamp it as the work of an Eastern artist of another centre who may have been imitating an Egyptian model. Isaac wears a long tunic, which is a new feature in the scene, and stands on the steps leading up to the denticulated and cup-shaped altar. Abraham is of the Eastern Hellenistic type, in long draperies, but wears the nimbus which is a common characteristic of figures in other scenes of Palestinian-Coptic iconography (Fig. 8).<sup>1</sup> The ram, at Abraham's right, is rendered as usual except that it wears a collar.



FIGURE 8.—SACRIFICE OF ISAAC: MINIATURE OF THE ETSCHMIADZIN EVANGELIARY.

Thus far the differences between this representation and those of the Alexandrian-Coptic type are minor variations. The Etschmiadzin scene of sacrifice possesses, however, one added iconographic feature which never appears in the pure Alexandrian-Coptic type. This detail, a cypress tree, seems to be of Syro-Palestinian origin, as it appears again in the Sacrifice of Isaac upon a lamp from Jerusalem (No. 119) where the scene is otherwise similar to Alexandrian-Coptic representations. Abraham, bearded and in long draperies, with head turned toward the Hand of God emerging

<sup>1</sup> E. Baldwin Smith: *Early Christian Iconography*, Tables IV and V.

from the sky, stands ready to sacrifice Isaac. Isaac is undraped and, owing probably to the shape of the lamp, kneels upon the ground. At Abraham's right is the cypress tree and balancing it on the other side of the scene is an apparent imitation of the Alexandrian altar standing on the ground, behind which is a pillar, possessing possibly some local significance.

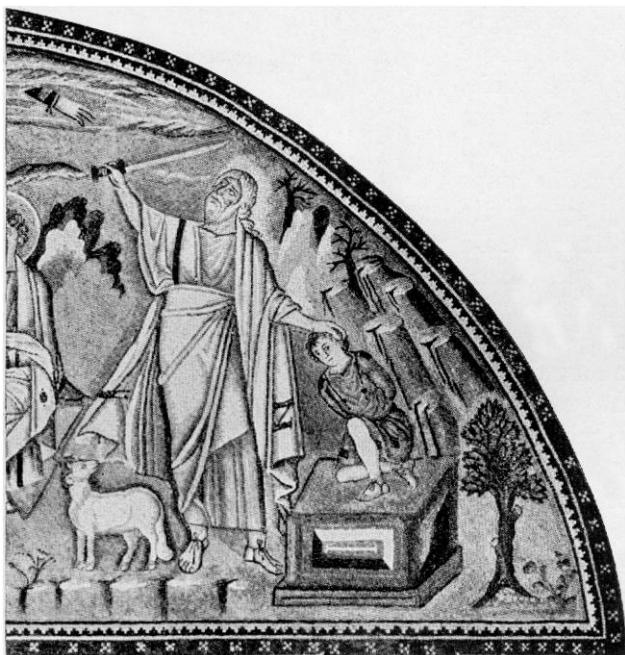


FIGURE 9.—SACRIFICE OF ISAAC: MOSAIC IN S. VITALE: RAVENNA.

#### THE BYZANTINE TYPE

Representations of the Sacrifice of Isaac reached their greatest elaboration of detail in Byzantine art, but they are rather combinations of details gathered from the Early Christian types which had preceded them than new forms. This is, perhaps, due to the infrequency of the scene in the early Byzantine period because the Crucifixion, which it had symbolized, began to appear upon monuments at this time.

In a sixth century mosaic, in S. Vitale at Ravenna (No. 121), the scene is rendered in the Asiatic-Hellenistic manner with Isaac on the altar (Fig. 9). The Hand of God appears from above.

Abraham, bearded and in flowing draperies, is about to sacrifice Isaac and grasps him by the hair. The ram stands at Abraham's right. In a seventh century miniature of the Vatican Codex of Cosmas Indicopleustes (No. 123) a nimbed and heavily draped Abraham grasps Isaac by the hair, as he kneels on the ground, but the scene here is more detailed than in S. Vitale. Above and at Abraham's right are the Hand of God and a ray of light. At his left is the ram tethered to a bush. Adjoining the scene is Isaac approaching with the faggots, and two servants with a mule, showing the customary Byzantine attempt to follow closely, in art, the written description of scenes. On an amulet in Paris (No. 120) and again in a miniature of the twelfth century Vatican Octateuch (No. 122) Abraham grasps Isaac by the hair and the ram is tethered to a bush. These features though they may be found in other types of the scene are particularly characteristic of the Byzantine iconography of the sacrifice.

Further discussion of the sacrifice as rendered in later periods does not lie within the province of this study but it is interesting to observe that a cursory examination of western monuments down to the fifteenth century seems to show an almost universal adoption of the Asiatic-Hellenistic Isaac on the altar in representations of the scene. From the sixth to the eleventh century the sacrifice was seldom reproduced in art, but during the four centuries following that period it had renewed and widespread popularity in representation, owing no doubt to a revival of interest in its symbolic connotations.

LIST OF MONUMENTS<sup>1</sup>

## Catacomb Frescoes

## Type I

- (1) Rome, Cat. "dei Giordani," IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 327-22.
- (2) Rome, Coemeterium Maius, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 326-17, Tav. 222-1.
- (3) Rome, S. Ermete, III Century, Wilpert: Pitt. Tav. 114.
- (4) Rome, SS. Marco e Marcelliano, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 326-16, Tav. 216-2.
- (5) Rome, SS. Pietro e Marcellino, III-IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 323-3, Tav. 73.
- (6) Rome, Priscilla, III Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 323-4, Tav. 78-2.
- (7) Rome, S. Tecla, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 327-19, Tav. 235.
- (8) Rome, Trasone, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 325-11, Tav. 164-2.

## Type II

- (9) Rome, S. Callisto, Cappella dei Sacramenti, II Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 323-2, Tav. 41-2.
- (10) Rome, Vigna Massimo, IV Century, G. II, pl. 69-3.

## Type III

- (11) Rome, Domitilla, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 326, Tav. 201.
- (12) Rome, Domitilla, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 325-13, Tav. 196.
- (13) Rome, Coemeterium Maius, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 327-18, Tav. 220.
- (14) Rome, SS. Pietro e Marcellino, III Century, G. II, pl. 48-1 (Fig. 1).
- (15) Rome, SS. Pietro e Marcellino, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 324-8, Tav. 129.
- (16) Rome, SS. Pietro e Marcellino, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. Tav. 188-1.
- (17) Rome, Priscilla, Cappella Greca, II Century, Wilpert: F., pl. 10.

## Fragments

- (18) Rome, S. Callisto, IV Century, De Rossi, III, pl. VIII, 1.
- (19) Rome, Domitilla, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 326-15, Tav. 201-3.

<sup>1</sup>ABBREVIATIONS USED IN LIST OF MONUMENTS

BOCK = Bock: *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*; CABROL = Cabrol: *Dictionnaire de l'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*; DE ROSSI = De Rossi: *Roma Sotteranea cristiana*; FURTWÄNGLER = Furtwängler: *Antike Gemmen*; G. = Garrucci: *Storia dell'arte cristiana*; GR. = Grousset: *Catalogue des sarcophages chrétiens de Rome*; KISA = Kisa: *Das Glas im Altertum*; KRAUS = Kraus: *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*; LE BLANT: A. = Le Blant: *Les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles*; LE BLANT: G. = Le Blant: *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*; M. = Marucchi: *I monumenti del Museo cristiano Pio-Lateranense*; SCAVI = Scavi di *Antichità dei Lincei*; STRZYGOWSKI: B. = Strzygowski: *Byzantinische Denkmäler*; STRZYGOWSKI: H. = Strzygowski: *Hellenistische und Koptische Kunst*; STUHLFAUTH = Stuhlfauth: *Die Altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*; VENTURI = Venturi: *Storia dell'arte Italiana*; VÖGE = Vöge: Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Zweite Auflage, *Die Elfenbeinbildwerke*; WILPERT: Pitt. = Wilpert: *Pitture delle Catacombe Romane*; WILPERT: F. = Wilpert: *Fractio Panis*; WULFF = Wulff: Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, *Beschreibung III*.

- (20) Rome, Domitilla, IV Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 324-9, Tav. 139-1.
- (21) Rome, Generosa, V Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 327-21.
- (22) Rome, SS. Pietro e Marcellino, III Century, Wilpert: Pitt. 324-6, Tav. 105-2.

#### The Hellenistic Type

- (23) Arles, Mus., Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 310-4.
- (24) Arles, Mus., Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 366-3.
- (25) Arles, Mus., Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 378-3.
- (26) Arles, Mus., Sarcophagus (frag.), IV-V Century, Le Blant: A., p. 54.
- (27) Astorga, Cath., Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 314-6.
- (28) Athens, Lamp, IV-V Century, Max Bauer: *Tonlampen*, p. 35.
- (29) Bagnols, Astier Coll., Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 378-4.
- (30) Cairo, Mus., Relief (frag.), IV-V Century, Strzygowski: H., No. 8759, pl. 163.
- (31) Carthage, Lamp, IV Century, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1898, pl. X, 10.
- (32) Carthage, Mus. Lavigerie, from Kasrin, Terra-cotta Slab, IV-V Century, *Mus. de l'Algérie*, III, p. 9, pl. II-4.
- (33) Catania, Mus. Recupero, Glass, IV-V Century, G. III, pl. 171-2.
- (34) Cività Castellana, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 319-3.
- (35) Clermont, Sarcophagus (frag.), IV-V Century, Le Blant: G., pl. XVII-3.
- (36) Florence, Gherardesca Coll., Glass, IV-V Century, G. III, pl. 169-4.
- (37) Fordongianus (Sardinia), from, Lamp, IV Century, *Scavi*, 1903, p. 487, fig. 13.
- (38) Gerona, Cath., Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 374-3.
- (39) Gotha, Mus., Gem, "Early Christian," Furtwängler, II, p. 246, 55.
- (40) Grosseto, Mus., Glass (frag.), IV Century, *B. Arch. Crist.*, 1882, pl. VIII.
- (41) Lausanne, Mus., Lamp, V Century, *R. Arch.*, 1875, p. 3.
- (42) London, British Mus., from Cologne, Glass Dish, III-V Century, Kisa, III, p. 893.
- (43) Lucq-de-Béarn, Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, Le Blant: G., pl. XXVII, 1.
- (44) Madrid, Ayuntamiento, Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 376-3.
- (45) Mas-d'Aire (Landes), Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 301-3.
- (46) Mende, Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, Le Blant: G., p. 76, No. 93.
- (47) Narbonne, Mus., Sarcophagus (frag.), V Century, G. V, pl. 396-7.
- (48) Narbonne, Mus., Sarcophagus (frag.), V Century, G. V, Appendix, No. 19.
- (49) Paris, Basilewsky Coll. from Podgoritsa, Albania, Glass, IV Century, *B. Arch. Crist.*, 1877, pl. V-VI.
- (50) Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms. Peiresc, Sarcophagus, V Century, G. V, Appendix, No. 2.
- (51) Pisa, Camposanto, Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 364-3.
- (52) Rome, from Esquiline, Glass (frag.), V Century, *B. Arch. Crist.*, 1884-85, p. 92.
- (53) Rome, from Catacombs, Carved Nut, IV? Century, Cabrol, *s.v.* Abrahā, col. 116.
- (54) Rome, Lead Cup Base, III? Century, *B. Arch. Crist.*, 1879, p. 133 and pl. XI, 4.
- (55) Rome, from, Bronze Ring, IV? Century, G. VI, pl. 478-23.

- (56) Rome, Grotte Vaticane, Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 322-2.
- (57) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 312-1.
- (58) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 318-1.
- (59) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 358-1.
- (60) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 358-3.
- (61) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 359-1.
- (62) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 364-2.
- (63) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 367-1.
- (64) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 367-2.
- (65) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 367-3.
- (66) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 376-4.
- (67) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 384-3.
- (68) Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 402-5.
- (69) Rome, from S. Lorenzo, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 360-1.
- (70) Rome, Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, *B. Arch. Crist.*, 1883, p. 87.
- (71) Rome, S. Sotere, Stamp, IV Century, De Rossi: III, p. 346.
- (72) Rome, Vatican Mus., Lamp, IV? Century, G. VI, pl. 475-2.
- (73) Rome, ?, Bronze Medal, IV-V Century, G. VI, pl. 480-12.
- (74) Rome, Bibl. Vat., Glass, IV Century, G. III, pl. 172-8.
- (75) Rome, from Vatican, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 377-1.
- (76) Rome, Via Salaria, Mural Drawings, IV? Century, *B. Arch. Crist.*, 1865, p. 3.
- (77) Rome, Vigna Baseggio, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 310-1.
- (78) Rome, Villa Borghese, Sarcophagus, IV Century, Gr., p. 75, No. 82.
- (79) S. Canziano, Silver Spoon, IV Century, G. VI, pl. 462-6.
- (80) St. Maximin, Church Crypt, Slab, V Century, Le Blant: G., pl. LVIII.
- (81) St. Maximin, Sarcophagus, V Century, G. V, pl. 334-3.
- (82) St. Maximin, Sarcophagus, V Century, G. V, pl. 352-2.
- (83) St. Michel du Touch (formerly at), Sarcophagus, VI Century, Le Blant: G., p. 127, pl. XLII.
- (84) Strassburg, from, Gold Glass, IV? Century, Kraus: p. 482, fig. 359.
- (85) Syracuse, from Catacombs, Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 365-1.
- (86) Toledo, S. Domingo, Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 369-4.
- (87) Toulouse, Mus., Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 312-3.
- (88) Trèves, found at, Glass, V Century, *B. Arch. Crist.*, 1873, p. 141.
- (89) ———, Lamp, V Century, Abela, *Malta Illustrata*, X, lib. I, 5.
- (90) ———, Carved Gem, ? Century, G. VI, pl. 492-7.
- (91) Arles, Mus. (Isaac not represented), Sarcophagus, V Century, G. V, pl. 312-2.

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- (92) Ravenna, Mus. Naz., Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, Dütschke, *Rav. Studien*, p. 44, fig. 22.
- (93) Rome, Lateran Mus., Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 400-4.
- (94) Rome, Lateran Mus., Sarcophagus, IV Century, M., pl. XX-5.
- (95) Rome, Lateran Mus., Sarcophagus, IV Century, M., pl. VIII, 8.
- (96) Rome, Oratorio di S. Sisto, Sarcophagus, IV Century, Gr., p. 102, No. 176.

(97) Rome, Cim. di S. Lorenzo, Sarcophagus, IV Century, Gr., p. 99, No. 159.

(98) Rome, Cim. di S. Lorenzo, Sarcophagus, IV Century, Gr., p. 99, No. 161.

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(99) Aix, Mus., Sarcophagus, IV Century (2 half), G. V, pl. 379-2.

(100) Ancona, Cath., Sarcophagus, IV Century (end), G. V, pl. 326-2.

(101) Arles, Mus., Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 366-2.

(102) Arles, formerly at, IV-V Century, Le Blant: A, p. 62, No. LX.

(103) Madrid, Ayuntamiento, Sarcophagus, IV Century (3 quarter), G. V, pl. 341-3.

(104) Marseille, Mus., Sarcophagus, V Century, Le Blant: G. p. 49, No. 64.

(105) Milan, S. Ambrogio, Sarcophagus, IV Century (Fig. 2), G. V, pl. 328-3.

(106) Paris, Louvre, Sarcophagus, IV-V Century, G. V, pl. 324-3.

(107) Rome, Cim. di Callisto, Sarcophagus (frag.), IV Century, G. V, pl. 396-8.

(108) Rome, Grotte Vaticane, Sarcophagus, IV Century, G. V, pl. 327-4.

(109) Rome, Lateran Mus., Sarcophagus, IV Century (2 half), G. V, pl. 320-1.

(110) Rome, Lateran Mus., Sarcophagus, IV Century (2 quarter), G. V, pl. 323-4.

(111) Rome, Piazza del Paradiso, 68, Sarcophagus, IV Century, Gr., p. 94, No. 146.

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(112) El Bagawat, Fresco, IV Century (Fig. 3), Bock: p. 27, pl. XIII and XIV.

(113) El Bagawat, Fresco, IV Century, Bock: p. 23.

(114) Berlin, Mus., Ivory Pyx, IV Century (Fig. 7), Vöge: pl. I, 1.

(115) Berlin, Mus., Bone fragment, IV Century, Wulff: I, no. 428.

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(117) Rome, Terme, Ivory Pyx, V-VI Century, Venturi: I, p. 534, fig. 4.

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(118) Etschmiadzin, Miniature, VI Century (Fig. 8), Strzygowski: B. I., pl. IV.

(119) Rome, Mus. des Deutschen Camposanto, Lamp, V Century, *Röm. Quart.*, 1904, p. 21.

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(120) Paris, Amulet (in dealer's hands), *Byz. Z.* 1893, p. 188.

(121) Ravenna, S. Vitale, Mosaic, VI Century (Fig. 9), G. IV, pl. 261-2.

(122) Rome, Bibl. Vat. (Octateuch), Miniature, XII Century, *Byz. Archiv*, II.

(123) Rome, Bibl. Vat., Miniature of Codex of Cosmas Indicopleustes, VII-VIII Century, G. III, pl. 142-1.

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